2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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The vertical lines at the bottom of the painting symbolize the rays of the sun-woman as she rises in the east, and the groups of dots throughout the design, the stars, *tapalinga*, in the night sky. 532x 773

On Pl. 5C, D, the two concentric circles, *d*, indicate the surface, while *a*, is the *imunka*,[81] or life centre of the sun.

The painting shows a number of different clouds; a thin misty cloud at *b*, heavy rain clouds which temporarily obscure the sun at *h*, *h*, *h*, etc., a mackerel sky at *c* (indicated by the short radiating lines), and cumulus clouds at *j*, *j*.

The colours of sunrise and sunset are indicated by the horizontal bands, *g*, *g*; while the lines of light, which sometimes radiate from the sunset, are at *e*, *e*, etc., and those from the sunrise at *f*, *f*, etc.

Pl. 6A, B, is a bark painting of Wuriupi, the totem place of *Wuriupranala*, the sun-woman. Her body, now a patch of jungle, is at *a*; her head at *n*, and her abdomen at *k*. Her arms are at *b*, *b*; her legs at *c*, *c*; her breasts at *j*, *j*; her ears at *m*, *m*; the chevron scars on her arms and back at *e*, *e*, etc. 532x 778

The windbreak of her camp, *d*, is a sandy beach at Wuriupi, and the shelter, under which she rested, is a large yam, whose leaves, vine and blossoms, are indicated by symbols, *k*, *k*; *l*, *l*; *v*, *v*, etc. Tracks made by the sun-woman are shown at *x*, *x*; *x*, *x*; red rocks on the beach at *g*, *g*; and black rocks at *f*, *f*.

Pl. 7B, a painting on one side of a *pukamuni* basket, also refers to the sun-woman. 532x 821

The sun is represented by the black circle in the lower section of the design, while the disc in the centre of the circle is the torch of blazing bark which the sun-woman carries across the sky to provide the world with light and heat. The white, upper disc represents the large thunderclouds which, at the beginning of the wet season, often obscure the sun.[82] The surrounding concentric circles and the parallel lines across the middle of the design symbolize the colours on the edge of the clouds at sunrise or sunset.

The lighter coloured diagonal lines refer to groups of cirrus clouds, and the darker, to monsoon clouds of the rainy season. The dots are the stars of the night sky.

The vertical black line in the middle of Pl. 7D, is the track across the sky of the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*. The black disc across the bottom is the sun in the morning; the one immediately above, the sun at midday; the next,

[81] The *imunka* is a universal life essence which permeates all living things, the plants, the creatures and man. It is situated in the solar-plexus of man. This is the same life essence as that of the Pitjendadjara tribe of the western deserts of Central Australia (Mountford, 1948, p. 111). [774] [171]

[82] When a thundercloud obscures the sun, the aborigines believe that *Andjahi* (fresh water) has taken his wife, *Wuriupranala*, to his camp.

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After a pause, another aboriginal entered the ring and sang about the previous singer's dead father. 881 765

(e) "My stomach goes hot like fire,[85] when I think of you, my uncle." [533] Some of the women cried when the song was finished. [539]

(7) *Cooking the Kulama Yam*

When the fire had burnt down to a bed of coals, the men picked up the fragments of burning wood, throwing them in all directions, scraped out the glowing embers with sticks, brushed the ashes from the heated termite mound with boughs, and the oven was ready for cooking the *kulama* yams. Meanwhile, one of the men had bound the rushes into a rope, *imbini*, about an inch in diameter, and sufficiently long to encircle the oven. The fragments of heated termite mound were lightly sprinkled with water, the *imbini* rope coiled around them, the yams carefully arranged on top and the whole covered first with thin sheets of newly split paper-bark, then with sand. Care was taken to cover the yams properly, otherwise, the aborigines explained, *aini*, the *kulama* sickness, would escape and cause blindness to the immediate participants. 252 881

As the oven was being covered, the leader patted the sand to consolidate it (Pl. 442), chanting at the same time, "Brr, Brr, Goodbye, Grandmother, goodbye",[86] in the same way as the owl-man, *Purujiikini*, did at the first *kulama*. 881 [533] [539]

While the yams were being cooked, the *kulama* people performed the following dances, to the rhythm of sticks beaten by the women. 535 881

(a) The dance of *jiriwa* (silver-crowned friar-bird). [534]

(b) Two crocodiles, *jirakupai*, fighting (Pl. 302), followed by two aborigines as crocodiles crawling in the sand.

(c) A crocodile; the dancer carrying the goose-feather ball (*tokwianga*) in his mouth to symbolize the prey of the crocodile.

(d) The green turtle with the hands and arms of the dancer moving in imitation of the turtle's flippers.

Two young women, when asked to dance, performed:

(e) The crocodile, *jirakupai*,

(f) The buffalo,

(g) The shark (Pl. 300).

[85] The stomach, or solar-plexus, is the location of the *imunka* (spirit), and the seat of the emotions. [826] [774]

[86] The *kulama* yam is looked upon as a female when it is dug up, placed beside the *tarringalasa* tree and immersed in the water for the first time. When taken from the swamp it is male, again becoming female from the time it is put in the oven until it is eaten. [824]

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Mikingulas to enter the *milimiks* and chant his first song, known as the *Ai-ipa*, which he had been practising for some time.[39] The female initiates, the *Mikinastriningas* assisted the *Mikinastrinas* by beating the time on the outside of the *milimiks* in the same way as *Pinsoma*, the owl-woman, assisted her husband, *Purujiltini*, at the first *kulama* ceremony during creation times.

One *Mikingula* told me that when he was passing through the *Mikinastrina* grade of initiation, he chanted three songs; one was about a fish, one about a rifle and a third about a crocodile.

When the *Mikinastrina* initiates had finished their songs, the men of the higher initiation grades, the *Mikinstaras*, *Mikiastarimas* and the fully initiated *Mikingulas*, entered the ring, one by one, and walking anti-clockwise chanted the following songs:[40]

(*a*) "A big ship brings many things to Darwin."

(*b*) "A Japanese plane was flying low over Melville Island. The men on the ground said 'stand-by' and shot it down with a cannon."

(*c*) "In Darwin, I saw a kite, on a long string, which flew into the sky."

(*d*) "The Government plane flew me to Brisbane to see the Queen. It flew through the clouds. I went into the pilot's room in the front of the plane and the wireless told them Brisbane was only seven miles away."

(11) *The Kararijui Songs*

About nine o'clock, the character of the songs changed and all but one dealt with the spirit, *imunka*, of their children.[41] These songs are called *kararijui imunka*.

(*a*) "The spirits of my children have gone to Karslake Island (Wurungku), and are playing there."

[39] At the conclusion of the *kulama* ceremony, both the male and female *Mikinastrina* initiates wear their ornaments and keep themselves decorated for a month, and every evening when seated in the camp, they chant the same *Ai-ipa* songs as they did at the *kulama* ceremony.

At the end of a month, the initiates wash the paint from their bodies, discard their ceremonial ornaments, and resume a normal life until the next *kulama*.

Two years later, the *Mikinastrina* becomes a *Mikinstara* retaining that grade for another year, when he enters the grade of a *Mikiastarima*. On the following year, the initiate reaches the full status of a *Mikingula*.

During the last two stages, i.e., *Mikinstara* and *Mikiastarima*, the initiates are not subject to any special restrictions nor do they have to pass through any special rituals. Their body decorations too, are similar to those of the fully initiated men.

[40] The men did not carry their throwing stick in the same manner as they did in the afternoon performance (Pl. 44A).

[41] The Melville Islanders in common with most aboriginal tribes, believe that their spirit (*imunka*) leaves the body during sleep and wanders around. The songs refer to the spirits of their children, who, during the hours of sleeping, play in the forest and on the sea-shore.